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342 raised. An old shoe is also generally found along with the iron and
789 stones under the floor. Occasionally bits of dried *tulasi* plant (*Ocymum*
sanctum) are also scattered about the floor or again a bunch of *tulasi*
[824] may be tied at the base of the central pole. This pole stuck in the centre of the house being built is not a part of the permanent construction, but is a device to render the building work satisfactory and protect the home from demons taking possession of it while in the process of construction. On the pole can be seen hanging a basket and in this basket were found pieces of iron and tin, and bits of the outer *lepoed*[1] covering of another house. It may be taken from the walls of a house in which a happily married and prosperous family lived.
[237] In an earthen pot placed on the floor there was a yellowish liquid. The builder told us that this was water, but it had the appearance of cow's
[778 urine, although this could not be confirmed. Occasionally there is a
782] sign of a little shrine about the construction somewhere, which shows signs of the presentation of the *hom* offering.

342 The inner floor of the house will be filled in and packed down after the walls are up. In dwellings of good construction the floor of the interior of the house should be higher than the veranda floor, and the veranda floor should, in turn, be higher than that of the courtyard. Kol houses have no windows, and the door-ways are low. On enter-
[782 ing one must bow, or even get down on hands and knees. Bowing as
788] one enters is said to be a method of showing respect to the household deities. Windows might let in evil forces, hence none is included.

342 Women may aid in building the house, but their work is limited
462 to assisting in building the walls and floor of the house by bringing the earth or water, mixing them and helping to place the mud in the proper place. They take no part, however, in the construction of the
[562 roof. This is not a woman's job, and for a woman to get upon a roof
784] is taboo—a thing that requires punishment or a fine.

342 Kols are able to construct the whole house. If the roof is to
[824] be of grass, the grass is brought from the forests, and *kusa* (*Poa cynosuroides*) and *duba* (*Agrestis tinearis*) are generally used. If
[323] tiles are utilized, cheap country tiles are obtained from the village potter. The Kol puts the tiles on the roof himself. The only
[335] thing which he cannot make is the door and frame, but these may be bought quite cheaply in the markets or may be made for him by the village carpenter. They are set in the opening left for the door, and the mud is packed in about them. There is usually but one door to a house. The more primitive types of houses so common among

1 See Glossary, Appendix VI, for meanings of Vernacular terms.

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412 the lower stone. In the centre there is a pivot around which the upper stone rotates. The *sil* is essentially a grindstone but is used mostly to grind spices, and mix together ingredients on the mortar-and-pestle

Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

system. The *sil* has two parts: an oblong stone 18"×12" the surface of which is roughened by being chipped; the roller, a piece of stone which is rounded and which is used something as a rolling pin, only the stone grinds and does not revolve.

An iron knife which is attached to a piece of wood and on which all the cutting of vegetables is done is usually found about the house. The user sits on the floor and cuts 516 the vegetables or meat on the knife. In the process 252 the knife is steadied by pressing the feet on the wooden attachment and thus both hands are free for work.

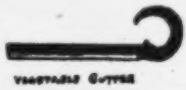

Fig. 8

415 A few baskets will always be found lying about the house. These also are not manufactured by Kols. They are used for transporting things to and from the bazaar, for gathering leaves, sticks and cow-dung for fuel or plaster. Vegetables and the like may be stored in them. The winnowing basket (*supa*) is always found near the granary. This is used to clean the grains and also has its work in certain magical ceremonies which will be described further on. A sort of broom made of bamboo and grass will be found somewhere about the place.

285 251 243

Fig. 9

412

354 In one corner of the room is located the *chulha*. This is a low mud hearth with one or two fireplaces. The smoke goes into the room. 252 Here the meals for the family are cooked. Nearby are the cooking 412 vessels and an iron spoon or two for stirring the food and some tongs 415 for the fire. Somewhere will be found the large sun-dried mud urn in 251 which the wheat or rice is stored. This is rat proof and is arranged so that it may be watched for termites which do much damage in 237 villages. Some piles of fuel will be seen: dried cow-dung cakes or 462 bits of wood which have been chopped by the men of the family.

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basis of the black colour is soot. Sometimes this is obtained by burning certain kinds of wood and cocoanut shells. It is finely powdered and mixed with water. Sometimes milk from the breast is said to be a desirable solvent. After pricking, the parts are oiled with a mixture of *haldi* and *til* oil, which soothes the affected parts and removes any impurity from the touch of the tattooer.

Fig. 15

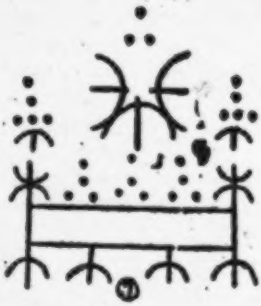

Fig. 16

AGRICULTURE. Kols mostly work as labourers in the fields of others, and even where they rent their fields, there is nothing in their methods which is not characteristic of the whole countryside. February to April is the usual slack season, although during the latter part of this period the wheat crop is harvested in Central India, and the threshing season is on. Before the rains at the end of June the ground is made ready for the first showers, and is roughly scratched with rude ploughs. Just before the rains the seed is broadcast in a prepared plot and is transplanted in the mud after the monsoon has broken. Only men sow the seed. From July to September the rice is growing and must be weeded and looked after. The weeding is generally done by women, but men also help. In October the rice is cut and threshed and stored. The soil, still moist from the monsoon rains, is now prepared for the wheat crop which is sown about the end of October or early in November. The wheat also requires weeding and care, and is ready for the harvest in late March and April. Religious observances in connection with agriculture are described in a later chapter.

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in the family, but the wife is in no sense his slave and plays a large part in its control and management. All affairs are brought before the family for discussion and decision before final action is taken. If one party is not agreeable to a certain proposition the other tries by coaxing or by some other means to win his or her consent. Nevertheless this picture, given by the men, may be over bright, for it appears from close observation that the rights of the wives are much less than those of the men. She is not as free as the men are and it is not the custom for her to go here or there without hindrance. The woman has a certain amount of what might be called "personal property" and is not debarred from possessing it, though this is limited to her ornaments, her clothes and anything that she may make or acquire for her personal use. When the husband dies his property goes to the sons, but as long as she is living she must be supported by the sons. If there is no son, the property remains with her as long as she lives, but passes to the husband's male relatives at her death.

The Kol widow is not subjected to the same disabilities as are found among certain classes of Hindus. She is not required to shave her head, nor discard her metal bangles and ornaments, nor wear a white *sari*. If young she may marry again, usually not less than a year after her husband's death, and if she is elderly she may go to live with her son or relatives. Widows are expected to make some contribution for their keep and are often found searching for fuel or roots and leaves.

PLACE OF THE WIFE. After marriage the chief duties of the wife are to care for the house, prepare the meals and be a mother to her children. In between it is generally expected that she will find some means to supplement the family income, either by directly engaging in remunerative work, or by gathering roots and tubers from the jungle, cow dung from the roads and paths, or wood for the kitchen fire. Dried cow dung cakes are most generally used for the fire. She does the washing of clothes for herself and her children. Men wash their own clothes.

During her monthly courses there is some interruption of her regular work. During that time she may prepare her own food, but is not permitted to prepare food for another. The man must do his own cooking or make some other arrangements for the time being. There are other taboos at this time; she must never touch men's clothes nor should milk of any kind be touched by her. She may bring water from the well for her own use, but such water is taboo to any other member of the family.

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DIVISION OF LABOUR. There is a distinct division of labour amongst the Kols and the following table, used as a basis for investigation, gives the main results. There has not always been complete agreement, but the following summary pretty well represents the views of the Kols on the matter of labour. The exceptions are noted. The following list of occupations includes practically everything that the village Kol is called upon to do.

Occupation.	*How Divided.*
Gathering wood in the forests.	Both men and women.
Gathering *biri* leaves.	Do.
Carrying wood to the bazaar.	Do.
Carrying grass to the bazaar.	Do.
Cutting grass in the fields.	Do.
[233] Grazing cattle.	Usually men, women only under certain conditions as when the grazing is close to home.
Ploughing fields.	Men only.
Sowing of seed.	Men only.
Transplanting rice.	Both men and women.
Winnowing wheat.	Do.
Repairs to the house :	Do.
Walls and floors.	Do.
Roofs.	Men only.
Plastering floors and walls.	Women only, except that a bachelor may do so to his own quarters.
Grinding wheat.	Women and bachelors.
Buying in the bazaar.	Both may purchase, but the women are restricted.
Cooking in the home.	Women and bachelors.
Bathing children.	Women only.
Mending clothes.	Both, but men always mend men's clothes and women women's clothes.
Cleaning up cattle sheds.	Usually women, but men may do so occasionally.
[564] Collecting eggs.	Women, though some Rautiyas state that they do not touch eggs.
Feeding the children.	Women.
Breaking rocks for the roads.	Both men and women.
Day labourers in the fields.	Do.

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Occupation.	*How Divided.*
Playing musical instruments.	Men only.
Dancing.	Women only.
Sacrificing an animal.	Men only.
Homa sacrifice.	Usually men, but women may.
Making blankets, clothes and gourd vessels.	Neither ever make these except Kathariyas make mattresses.
Making *lathis* of bamboo.	Men only.
Weaving mats and making leaf plates.	Neither makes these: are purchased as needed. [439]
Counting *biri* leaves.	Both men and women.
Keeping watch over crops:	
By day.	Do, but generally men.
By night.	Do, but generally men.
Bringing water from the well.	Men only.
Cleaning up the toilet of children.	Both men and women.
Husking of paddy.	Women only.
Cutting wood for home use.	In charge of men.
Gathering cow dung.	Usually men, but women may do.
Weeding the paddy field.	Women only, and children.
Reaping the paddy or wheat.	Both men and women.
Washing plates after meals.	Do.
Washing clothes.	Women.
	Each wash their own, except that women wash the children's. [296]
Making fireplaces.	Women only.
Bringing fruits from the forest.	Both men and women.
Gathering roots for eating.	Do.
Care of chickens.	Usually women, but there are exceptions.
Care of goats.	Both men and women.
Weaving of cloth.	Neither does this work.
Selling of excess grain.	Men in charge of this.
Construction of houses.	Men, with the help of women who must stay on the ground.
Milking of cows.	Usually men, but women may assist. [234]
Milking of goats.	Do.
Sweeping of houses and open courtyards.	Women only. Bachelors.
Throwing out of trash.	Do.
Bringing mud to repair walls.	Both men and women.

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Occupation.	*How Divided.*
Care of small house garden.	Both men and women.
Moral training of children.	Do.
[861] Punishment of naughty boy.	Both, but usually the father.
Punishment of naughty girl.	Both, but usually the mother.
Purchase of clothing :	
For children.	Both may do this.
For wives.	Men usually.
For men.	Men only.

From the above statement it would appear that the following general observations may be made :

1. There are certain occupations which are usually, if not always performed by the men of the family. Among these may be listed the following :

Ploughing.
Sowing seed.
Repairs to house and always of the roof.
Playing musical instruments.
Sacrificing before the deity.
Watching crops at night.
Threshing.
Purchasing clothes.
Washing own clothes.

2. Women are usually expected to :

Plaster floors and walls of the houses.
Grind the wheat for *chapatis*.
Cook the meals.
Clean the cattle shed.
Feed and care for the children.
Clean up the toilet of the children.
Gather cow dung for plastering and for use as fuel.
Wash plates and cooking vessels.
Wash children's and own clothes.
Make fire-places.
Sweep houses, courtyards and dispose of trash.
Dance.

[589] 3. A bachelor must perform certain of the duties in the home usually done by the women.

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4. In some things the men take the leading part, but the women assist in certain occupations, such as: 462

Grazing cattle.
Purchasing supplies in the bazaar.
Watching crops by day.
Cutting wood for the house.
Construction of houses.
Milking of cows and goats.

5. There are some things that are absolutely taboo to the women such as:

Ploughing.
Getting up on a roof.

6. There is one thing that a man should never do: wash the clothes of a woman. [296]

7. There are a number of things neither a man nor a woman does, some of them have been listed and others have not. These tasks are the particular work of certain castes and occupational groups, and Kols leave such work to them. [564]

Among Kols working in industrial centres the wife and husband often work side by side at the same task, such as digging stone, carrying baskets of stone for the lime kiln, and the like.

GUESTS AND HOSPITALITY. On account of the smallness of Kol houses it is not possible for Kols to do much in the way of entertaining. Nevertheless hospitality is extended as far as is possible under the circumstances. A visiting relative is given a place within the family. On his arrival, he is met by the men of the house and greeted. The salutation takes the form of an embrace. The two put the arms around each other and touch first the left shoulder to the left shoulder, then the right to right. The next thing is to touch each others' knees, first the left, then the right, both hands generally being used. The final part is the grasping of the right hand.[1] Provision is made for the relative so that he or she may sleep comfortably during the night. This often entails hardship on the members of the family particularly if the house is crowded. A relative takes food with the other members of the family: men sitting with men and women with women. If the visitor should be a friend but not a relative, it is usual for him to be given a place to sleep, but he does not take his food with the family. He is expected to cook his own food, although the materials for the same are supplied free to him by the family with whom he is stopping. 574 602 [576] [264] [252]

1 See plate XII.

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Kya jano maya sukhi ke khanewale.
Garewa bharae apa ke liye—garewa ka ghalana,
Kya jano tumari ke pinewale.
Biriya banaewa apa ke liya—biriya ruchana,
Kya jano mayapatta ke khanewale.
Seja bichhaonwa apa ke liya—sejiya sona,
Kya jano gudri ke sonewale.

O dwellers in jungle, what do you know of singing and music?
I have cooked for you,—but how poor you make it out, for you have dry food always.
I have water ready for you,—but alas, will it please you? You who drink water from gourds?
Pan is ready too,—but you who use the leaves of the forest, can you enjoy this tender treat?
A bed is ready for you,—but tell me true:
How will you ever rest on such, O sleepers on rags!

535 [462 562]

DANCES. Dancing is found in connection with all happy occasions: births, weddings, feasts and festivals, but among the Kols it is only the women who dance. The men play and sing, but it is universally claimed that they never dance; it is considered effeminate to do so, for eunuchs dance, and since Kols are men they should not dance. In other groups among whom the Kols live, such as the Gonds and even the outcaste groups, the men-folk dance.

There is one main type of dance among Kols called by the same name as the songs that are sung with it: the *dadra*. There are various forms of this dance, differing somewhat in rhythm and also in movement. To the casual observer they look almost the same, but to the Kol there are real differences. The *purani chal* and the *shaitani* [578] are forms of the *dadra*. The word *shaitani* is literally 'satanic' or 'devilish' and in this form the words sung are very abusive and suggestive. [583] On the occasion of such a dance with its accompanying songs, youths and maidens often elope.

The famous *karma* [177] dance of the Gonds, in which both men and women participate, is not danced by the Kols, though they know of it and have often watched it. Russell and Hiralal however, claim [114] that the Kols dance it.[1]

[1] *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 517.